

Fellowship

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Amsterdam Conference Issue

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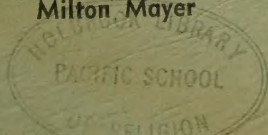
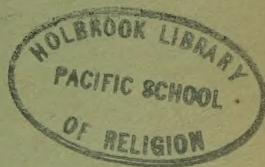
THE CHURCH, THE CHRISTIAN, AND WAR
A Pacifist Statement by Seventy Christian Leaders

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THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD
Dietrich Bonhoeffer

•
THEOLOGY OF DESPAIR
A Letter to Niebuhr by A. J. Muste

•
BEWARE THE COMMON FRONT!
Morris Milgram

•
VICARIOUS ATONEMENT
Milton Mayer



THIS MONTH

THE Church, the Christian, and War," a statement of pacifist belief, has been presented to the Commission on the Church and International Affairs, of the World Council meeting which convened at Amsterdam on August 23. This is its first publication. . . . *Dietrich Bonhoeffer's* prophetic statement was made at a similar ecumenical meeting in Denmark in 1934, and suggests that the Church's dilemma is not so different now from what it was then, after all. Bonhoeffer, a German FOR leader, died in a Nazi concentration camp. . . . Niebuhrian defeatism is challenged in A. J. Muste's "Theology of Despair." . . . Pacifists tempted to participate in united-front movements with Communists are urged to read "Beware the Common Front!" *Morris Milgram*, who wrote it, had plenty of opportunity as executive secretary of the Workers Defense League (until recently) to learn by experience. . . . And any atomic scientists, warning of the deadliness of their skill while they continue to practice it, are hereby themselves warned that *Milton Mayer* does not soothe their consciences in "Vicarious Atonement." . . . There's more, too.

NEXT MONTH

A COMPLETE report of both national conferences of the FOR, for stay-at-homes . . . and some surprises for you in the rest of the magazine . . . no room for more, now.

FELLOWSHIP

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2929 Broadway
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A. J. MUSTE, *Secretary*

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE,
International Secretary

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

CONSTANCE MUSTE,
Assistant Editor

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Devere Allen
Walter Russell Bowie
Vera Brittain
Marguerite Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
Albert Edward Day
Elisabeth D. Dodds
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
Erna Harris
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine W. Johnson
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

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Fellowship

the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

September, 1948

Vol. XIV—No. 8

Subheads

Signs of the Times?

A polo team called Los Pacificos spotted an Army team four goals handicap in San Francisco last month and still won handily, 11-7.

Ominous

All the alarums and excursions of press and politicians combined have not had the ominous impact of moves by a couple of armaments plants announced in July. The Smith and Wesson Company, which makes revolvers and other lethal

instruments, has built a huge plant under a filled-in swamp near Springfield, Mass., where it can continue activities unaffected by the rockets' red glare or the atoms' fissioned fury. And the Chance-Vought Division of the United Aircraft Corporation is moving, lock, stock, barrel and 1,500 families, from vulnerable Connecticut



cut to "safer" Texas, at a cost of \$6 million.

These announcements followed by two months the news that a group of atomic-defense "experts"¹ have calculated that if one atomic bomb falls on each of thirty-seven cities, there will be 555,000 Americans killed and a similar number injured. This figure, whose authenticity can be challenged from almost any point of the compass, obviously is intended to reassure people who remember Dr. Oppenheimer's prediction of 40 million casualties in one night. In the eyes of the Father, however, who is reputed to note with sorrow the fall of a single sparrow, it may be assumed that even a mere half-million corpses distributed over thirty-seven cities will be a cause for grief.

Rational

The perverted logic of war comes full circle to ultimate absurdity in this sort of thing. The purpose of armaments is victory in war. The purpose of victory is either the acquisition of territory and wealth

¹ We put the word *experts* in quotes because, according to all the atomic scientists, there is no defense against atomic weapons, and if there is no defense, how can anyone be an expert in it?

or the defense of people. Since it has become a truism that no nation gets material gains through war any more, that leaves the purpose of armaments as the defense of people. (Some word-spinners would ring in freedom, democracy, and a standard of living, but none of these exists in a vacuum, without people, so people come first.) But we have been assured by atomic scientists, the State Department, and assorted military men that there is no defense against atomic, bacteriological war, an assurance that is emphasized by Smith and Wesson and Chance-Vought. Therefore, we take steps to remove from the vulnerable cities the plants which make the means to defend the defenseless people who are left behind in the vulnerable cities!

Worry

During the last few days of the regular session of Congress, when it became apparent that nothing was going to prevent passage of Selective Service, several key Senators and Representatives were paid hurried visits by James Bennett, director of the Federal Prison Bureau. Mr. Bennett's mission was the unlikely sounding one of persuading the legislators to include in the law liberal provisions for conscientious objectors. Anything to keep them out of Mr. Bennett's prisons!

Querulous Quotes

"Our fathers conquered the wilderness with the rifle, the axe, and the Bible. They symbolize the three fronts on which we must prepare today in order to keep our land strong, free and at peace."

—U. S. SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN

"The invention and perfection of better implements and munitions of war, culminating in the harnessing of atomic energy, have demonstrated what science does in assuring national security."

—A representative of the
U. S. Manufacturing
Chemists' Ass'n.

* * *

"I served in the War Department during the war and the most alarming thing to me is the unwillingness of American young men to go out and kill the enemy. In the Southwest Pacific fighting we found that only about ten percent of our troops were really willing to get out there and fight the Japs. The rest of the army just went along for the ride, keeping their heads down and occasionally taking a few shots from the cover of a fox-hole. Unless our young men are instilled with the real will to fight, our country is lost."



—(Former Col.) S. L. A.
MARSHALL, chairman of
Michigan Citizens' Com-
mittee for UMT

* * *

U. S. URGED TO PREPARE FOR FATAL WAR

—Headline in *San Francisco Chronicle*

* * *

"As long as our leaders are honest and our neighbors are rational, we can be sure that war, if it comes, will be a justifiable, defensive war in which Mary, Queen of Peace,

and Our Lady of Fatima will be fighting on our side."

—REV. ROBERT I. GANNON,
President of Fordham
University

Bargain

If you have a half-million dollars to spare, there are three new solar systems on sale cheap. The half-million is the price put on the solar systems by the California Institute of Technology, reports Leonard Lyons in the *New York Post*. Tech's new 200-inch telescope is expected to discover the three "new" systems,² and the sale is being conducted in order to raise money to operate the big lens. The lucky purchaser, or contributor, will have a whole solar system named after him for the half-million, or one of the twelve "new" super novas for \$100,000. For the economy-minded, a mere star can be picked up for only \$50,000.

Always on the hunt for ideas, and not particular about who thought of them first, we've been wondering if Cal Tech's idea could be worked into the peace business. It's probably even harder for the peace movement to raise money than it is for astronomers, and perhaps it's because it hasn't offered any way for a contributor to send his name ringing down the ages.

With a million dollars, for instance, a lot of public opinion could be generated in favor of universal abolition of conscription, and per-

haps the resulting pact could be named after the donor. The Wilberforce J. Hammacher Anti-Conscription Treaty, maybe, or the Peace of Anderson J. Schmidlapp.

The trouble is, of course, that with stars and solar systems all you have to do is see them, while with peace treaties there is much less certainty: you not only have to see them in the distance, which is easy, but also get them, which is not. So probably the idea won't work. Rich men who want to perpetuate their names will go on buying solar systems and mountains and libraries, and the peace movement will go on depending on poor anonymities who only want to make this particular planet a decent one to live on.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Navy fighter planes used to cost \$53,350 each before the war. They now cost \$456,500 each.

* * *

The Federal Trade Commission has warned that unless big corporations are halted in their concentration of economic power through mergers, they will either take over the country or the government will have to take them over, either of which developments would mean that "collectivization will have triumphed over free enterprise."

* * *

William Russell of Georgia wants us to help promote peace through language reform, by spelling words as they sound. Awl rite, Wilym, weel try, but itz going tu luk awfl funi, and how duz³ it promot peec eniwa?

² The systems are believed to have been there all along, so they're not really new.

³ Dont confyuz with tha duz that duz evrithing.

The Secretary of the Fellowship challenges
the leading critic of pacifism and his—

Theology of Despair

AN OPEN LETTER TO REINHOLD NIEBUHR

By A. J. Muste

DEAR DR. NIEBUHR:
I have just finished reading your editorial "Amid Encircling Gloom" in *Christianity and Crisis** and the "Editorial Notes" immediately following. The experience has saddened and dismayed me, not alone because of the defeatism and despair that pervade both, but because of the *justification* for despair and even suicide I found there.

In the editorial you point out that "our possession of a monopoly in atomic weapons and our fear that the monopoly will run out" in a few years make it possible that Americans may plunge into a "preventative" war against Russia, and certainly make it likely that they will not exercise "the forbearance without which it will be impossible to prevent present tensions from breaking out into overt conflict."

You warn that we shall have to walk the tight rope of avoidance of such a course even while we "defend" ourselves by both military and political weapons—atomic not excluded—against communism, a

counsel which is no whit different from that which we may hear from enlightened secular sources! Aside from this what do you, widely regarded as America's foremost theologian, have to say that might avert the tragedy and lead men out of the "encircling gloom"?

What you offer is a variation on the only text about which you ever preach or write any more, though there are so many other texts and—I venture to say—more Christian ones, in the Scriptures. If the world is plunged into war, you say, "it would be indeed the final ironic and tragic culmination of the pretensions of modern man." Men drawn into war, though not wishing to be, "would merely"—what does that assumption-laden, emotion-ridden word "merely" signify in this context?—"illustrate the human predicament confessed by St. Paul in the words: 'For the good that I would I do not. . . .'"

As befits a Christian prophet, you warn that in these circumstances "we face not merely a Russian or Communist peril but the threat of a divine judgment." But you do not conclude as did the prophets that

* April 21, 1948.

were before you, who called upon their hearers to repent, act and so flee from that judgment. Instead, you finish with a solemn statement which, I am bound to say, makes little sense if taken at face value: "We are drifting toward a possible calamity in which even the most self-righteous assurance of the justice of our cause will give us no easy conscience."

Moral Paralysis?

Here is an illustration, it seems to me, of your tendency to blur all distinctions, in disregard of your own insistently proclaimed doctrine that there are relative differences that matter. What the sentence just quoted does in the political realm—on the *existential* level, shall we say?—is to convey to people the subtle suggestion that they are paralyzed, under a judgment which they cannot escape, that in the now-so-familiar phrase, "there isn't anything they can do about it." They will feel when they go to war that it is right, necessary, or even holy—and yet they will not have easy consciences! They will not have easy consciences, and yet they will feel self-righteous! That is the human condition.

So there is no true tension, but only *anxiety*, or a pervading sense of futility, for tension in the biblical sense is surely characteristic of a situation where man stands before his God and makes a *decision*. Here no decision is possible any more. The important decisions have all been made, or are being made, but always by something or somebody else. (I do not mean to say that you deliberately try to convey this subtle suggestion of paralysis and helplessness, but I believe it is the effect of your writing. And a confession on your part that this

might be another illustration of how men do the evil which they would not—a confession I well know you are humble enough to make—would not do a thing to mend matters.)

The habit of utterance which seems to me to have grown upon you and which dismays and disturbs me so is illustrated again in the editorial note about the Palestine partition question in the same issue. After pointing out that in spite of what the Jews endured at Hitler's hands, they have been grievously wounded again "and not even the Stratton bill has been passed as a balm for those wounds," you conclude: "The whole situation is almost too tragic to contemplate. But the whole world situation has become so tragic that the perplexities of this particular problem only engage a fraction of our conscience." There it is again. The tragic plight of the Jews. What to do? It can "only engage a fraction of our conscience."

The Masaryk Suicide

Sandwiched between these two items is your comment on Jan Masaryk's suicide. It seems to me very revealing. You recall that many people felt that Masaryk's willingness to become foreign secretary of a Communist government in spite of his well-known aversion to communism demonstrated a lack of inner integrity. But, you assert, "he proved himself in possession of a final resource of such integrity by taking his life." You recognize, of course, that "suicide is not an ideal way of coming to terms with the issues of life," but not being a "perfectionist" you are certain that men cannot attain the ideal anyway. And having reached the point where the battle against "perfec-

tionists" has become practically your sole occupation, now for the third time with rather obvious avidity you seize the opportunity to emphasize the complete hopelessness of man's estate and to pour sarcasm upon "the pretensions of modern man." Young Masaryk "proved his loyalty to his father's political ideals by violating his father's scruples against suicide," and from this you conclude: "That men may be forced into a position in which they can maintain the integrity of their soul *only* (italics mine) by taking their life, points to a dimension of human selfhood which makes nonsense of most modern theories of 'self-realization!'"

I am not suggesting that Jan Masaryk may not indeed have been truer to his father's ideals and to his own attachment to democratic principles by committing suicide—if that is what occurred—than he would have been by continuing to serve in the Communist government of Czechoslovakia after the coup. But the assertion that suicide was the "only" way of proving the integrity of his soul is, I think, a very revealing one. So is the fact that every tragedy as it passes in review before you is the occasion for just one comment: that it proves the validity of a theory of human depravity or, more accurately, futility.

The upshot of the business is that Jan Masaryk commits suicide—and it is really the only thing he can do. On the larger scale of world politics the conclusion likewise is that mankind—or at least western civilization—commits suicide in atomic war. When it comes to a showdown that is the only thing it can do! Surely it is not altogether inappropriate to raise the question

whether something like a "death-wish" is not operating here. The one positive element in the situation is that the thesis of man's utter futility has been vindicated!

This philosophy of fatalism and "inevitability" has its parallel in the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist dogma of the "inevitability" of war between "the workers' fatherland" and the capitalist-imperialist world. That dogma also is linked to a low view of human nature and an essentially fatalistic one. It declares that man and his history are chiefly, if not entirely, the product of economic forces. According to this view of things, also, the living human beings in Russia, the United States, and elsewhere are essentially spectators at a tragedy of which they are also, alas, the victims, but which nevertheless they have no alternative but to play through to the bloody end.

"Pie in the Sky"

The parallel does not end there. All is happily resolved—in theory—after the "inevitable" catastrophe has taken place. In the Marxist case, the solution is "within history" in the free society which grows out of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." In the other case, the resolution is "beyond history." Actual human beings, living and suffering, killing and being killed, today are offered "pie in the sky" under both systems!

One other observation remains to be made about how your thesis works out in contemporary affairs. In essential matters—support of the Marshall Plan, the need of fighting communism and Russia by both military and "peaceful" means, and so on—your political position today cannot be distinguished from that of John Foster Dulles, who is

Thomas E. Dewey's choice for Secretary of State. For you, a Socialist who knows how to make use of certain parts of the Marxian analysis, who has been the nemesis not only of conservatives but of liberals for these many years, this conjunction certainly should give pause.*

Considered as a political phenomenon it is not an accident that Reinhold Niebuhr, the radical, and John Foster Dulles, the Wall Street attorney and one of the chief architects of the bipartisan foreign policy of the United States, should now be virtually a team. For if war is "inevitable," whether on the basis of the Marxist class war and materialistic interpretation of history or on the basis of the theory of human depravity and the necessity of exposing "the pretensions of modern man," in actuality the war will be between Stalinist Russia and imperialist United States, for "communism" on the one hand and "free enterprise" on the other. Let me emphasize that I am not saying that war is "inevitable" but only that if there is war, it will be this kind and no other. These are the elements that have an "interest" in making war and that possess the resources with which to make war.

However, in lining up the masses of people for war, these elements must have at least the acquiescence of the Church and of Christian leaders, if not their unqualified blessing. They must have in both the conservative and the progressive camps men who are regarded as idealists, but who, being practical, know that you have to meet Soviet military might with Amer-

ican military might including atomic bombs, even while you also use other means; "practical" idealists who will not seriously interfere with war preparations; who are, whether conscious of it or not, and despite disclaimers, pretty well convinced in their hearts that war is inevitable. Hence the constellation of Niebuhr and Dulles.

Alternative to Suicide

There was open to Jan Masaryk another way than suicide to prove his integrity: open refusal to serve in the post-coup Cabinet and the public statement, either in Czechoslovakia or in exile, of the reasons therefor. This would probably have had little immediate and obvious political effect. Many would have regarded it as a foolish gesture, or even as an exhibition of addiction to "perfectionism." He might have lost his life in that case too. But as it is, his suicide served only to dramatize what the discerning already knew and the American government had already accepted as the basis of its policy, viz., that in the final analysis Soviet totalitarianism will not compromise on essentials. Had he been killed for public repudiation of the Stalinist course, democracy and truth would have had a martyr, Bohemia perhaps another Hus.

The world does not have to go to war and commit suicide, either. But it can escape that calamity only if there are those who do not believe that catastrophe is inevitable; who do not believe that you have to line up with one side or the other in the "cold" war; who are willing to pursue a course that will seem politically ineffective, and foolish in the estimation of "the wise of this world"; who will not, indeed, ask for victims or execu-

*I do not, of course, reflect on Mr. Dulles as a person, in which capacity I consider him both admirable and attractive.

tioners in the name of any cause or theory but who will be prepared to lay down their own lives if the call comes, since they have learned from the most authoritative of all teachers that most infallible and inexorable of all laws: Unless the seed falls into the ground and dies, it bears no fruit, but if it die, it brings forth much fruit.

The Scriptures are not simply an extended commentary on the single text, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." We read in them the commandment, "Be ye perfect as your

heavenly Father is perfect," and the promise, "Behold, I make all things new." Even Paul declared, "I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me." Pacifists verily need to be on guard both against the error of over-simplification and the sin of self-righteousness, but it does not follow that nonviolence as political strategy and pacifism as a way of life are invalidated. For Christian leaders to reject them may be in truth to condemn the Church and our age to futility and doom.

"The Cry of Faith"

"... Niebuhr's argument appears to leave quite out of account what are in fact the most essential and characteristic features of Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom of God. For Niebuhr Jesus' "counsels of perfection" have no immediate relevance to "political relativities," because the Kingdom of God to which they are related is, even in the thought of Jesus himself, wholly transcendent and wholly future. . . . But the power of Jesus' teaching lies precisely at the point where it passes beyond conventional Jewish eschatology.

Firstly, the Kingdom, though transcendent, is yet to be manifested in this world. We are bidden by Jesus to pray "Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done *in earth*, as it is in heaven." . . . Secondly, though the Kingdom in its full consummation is still future, in numerous passages Jesus proclaims that with himself that Kingdom, the hope of many generations, has come at last. . . .

To some of us the most tragic factor in the present catastrophe has been the Church's failure to use the power which, in Jesus Christ, God has placed in her hands, and which through the Church's obedience might have been released for the world's redemption. Christian pacifists have often been warned by our "realist" friends that we cannot bring in the Kingdom of God by acting as if it were already here. Yet this is, I believe, precisely what Jesus *did* teach: if only men were prepared to take God at his word, and to order their lives here and now by the laws of a transcendent Kingdom, then the power of God would answer the cry of faith, and the Kingdom would break in upon them anew and "take them unawares."

—From *The Relevance of an Impossible Ideal* by G. H. C. Macgregor

Can Pacifists cooperate effectively with Communists? No, says this writer, and warns—

Beware the Common Front!

By MORRIS MILGRAM

THERE is a tropical plant, if some vague recollections from my high school botany are accurate, called the flycatcher. It has, as I recall, considerable fascination for the unwary fly, to whom its innocent inverted bell of a blossom seems to promise all sorts of tempting tidbits. But when the hapless insect ventures inside, the petals fold, quietly but inexorably, and it finds itself hopelessly trapped, to have the life squeezed out of it to provide a good meal for the plant. Then, after the dastardly deed has been done, the innocent petals unfold again, the recent corpse is disgorged, and the trap is set for another unwary traveler.

As botany, it may be that the description ventures off the strait paths of scientific truth here and there, but as analogy descriptive of the relations of the American Communists and the well-meaning progressives and pacifists who attempt to work with them in a "common front," it is perfect. Even, sadly enough, to the fact that new flies show up with depressing regularity, and never seem to notice the mangled bodies of disillusioned—and often discredited—liberals lying in heaps in the near vicinity!

During the past ten or fifteen years, those who have worked in the peace movement have found themselves the objects of the most

Red-Baiting?

FELLOWSHIP believes in free speech, for Communists as for anyone else. It deplores the present anti-Communist hysteria and in no way condones attempts to persecute and harass people for their political beliefs. All of that does not change the facts of life as they relate to Communist political action. This article is concerned with clarifying those facts, especially as they relate to proposed "joint efforts" of pacifists and Communists.

cajoling blandishments from Communists and fellow-travelers anxious to embrace them whenever the foreign policy of the Soviet Union would be aided by antiwar sentiment in this country. Many American pacifists, including this writer, have succumbed to the temptation at one time or another, and have sought to oppose war preparations through the medium of organizations that included Communists.

What they discovered was that almost invariably such organizations (the American League Against War and Fascism, the American Student Union and the American Youth

Congress, for instance) were captured by the Communists and their positions changed to suit the Communist Party line. Later, when it had become clear that they were so widely known as Communist-controlled that they no longer were effective for recruiting innocents, they were disbanded. New fronts sprang up to take their place, such as the American Peace Mobilization—which later became the pro-war American People's Mobilization when Russia was being attacked by the very Nazis with whom she had divided Poland!

Picket Lines for Peace

None but the most naive could argue that the cause of peace could be more effectively served by an obviously Communist-controlled picket line around the White House than by the non-Communist efforts of the Keep America Out of War Congress, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Friends. Certainly any Congressman or administrator facing a decision would be less influenced by activities inspired by a party that followed all the twists of Soviet foreign policy than he would by groups which decided their policies democratically.

Nevertheless, there were a number of people who argued that since the Communists were but a minority of those who wanted peace or social justice, it should be possible to work with them in all sorts of organizations for immediate ends. I was one of these—and I saw nearly every united-front organization captured by the Communists and its effectiveness nullified.

How do Communists capture organizations? Why is it far easier to achieve desirable ends without their aid than with it? A few illustrations of the experiences thou-

sands of us had in the 'thirties may help a new generation to avoid our errors.

A good example, on a local scale, would be the Hudson County (N.J.) Committee for Labor Defense and Civil Rights. It was a united-front agency, set up by a number of groups fighting Mayor Hague's high-handed denial of civil rights in Jersey City and neighboring towns. It was made up of two representatives from any agency that agreed with its general purposes. Trade unions, both AFL and CIO, were represented. So were such Communist-controlled agencies as the International Labor Defense, the International Workers Order, and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, as well as non-Communist groups such as the Workers Defense League.

To capture the committee, the Communists sent delegates from several different branches of most of their agencies. Six or seven people organized into a local branch of the International Workers Order would have as many representatives as a union with thousands of members, and the same group of Communists, functioning in two branches of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, would get another four delegates on the Committee!

By this technique, the tiny minority of Communists in the anti-Hague movement seemed to be almost the majority of the Committee. Not content with their exaggerated strength in the making of policy, the Communists, determined to capture the vital post of secretary, launched a whispering campaign charging that the non-Communist secretary was sending notices of meetings only to non-

Communists. How, if this were true, enough Communists managed to get to every meeting virtually to dominate the organization, was not explained. But the canard was effective, and the Communists captured the Committee. The non-Communist elements, disgusted by the long bickering that had marked the Communist fight for control, and by their misuse of power once obtained, left it sadder but wiser.

The National Negro Congress, in which such non-Communists as A. Philip Randolph participated, was another example. An FOR member, writing of its 1940 Congress, charged: "It is completely CP dominated. Of 930 delegates reported by Saturday morning, 352 came from New York, a delegation about 50 percent white and solidly CP. Ford and other out-and-out CP'ers were elected to all Committees. This Congress is a farce. It is a political stamping ground for the CP. The delegates have been given no opportunity to discuss their problems. Everything is a well-ordered machine of speeches. . . . Very few important Negro organ-

izations are represented. . . . The Congress has little significance for the Negro masses."

Randolph, who had been president of the National Negro Congress, resigned at this 1940 convention, condemning the pro-Russian speech made by Congress Secretary John P. Davis, and denouncing the Russian dictatorship and collaboration with the Communist Party. At this same convention the Congress deserted its former collective security position and adopted instead a resolution that "Negro people have everything to lose and nothing to gain by American involvement in the imperialist war." When Russia later entered the war, however, the National Negro Congress issued a statement that "the pledge of our government for full aid to the Soviet Union in the brave fight against Hitlerism will find welcome response from the Negro people. . . . It is now the clear task of every section of the Negro people to give their fullest support to the cause of a genuinely democratic struggle against Hitlerism both at home and abroad." While guiding the Na-

The FOR and the Communists

IT HAS always been and still is the policy of the FOR to refuse to collaborate with the Communist Party and Communist front organizations. While the FOR clearly advocates thorough-going faith in love, nonviolence, and democracy, the FOR supports wholeheartedly the maintenance of civil liberties and academic freedom for all persons and organizations, including those which differ fundamentally from our position. Specifically we oppose the outlawry of minority political parties, the passage of legislation which imposes penalties on opinion, the use of "loyalty tests," the deportation of any persons for political opinion, and the continuance of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

—The FOR National Council, May, 1948

tional Negro Congress in its switch from an antiwar to a prowar policy, its secretary, John P. Davis, participated in a similar switch while serving on the national council of the American Peace Mobilization, an antiwar agency which turned into the prowar American People's Mobilization when Russia became a belligerent.

Non-Communist liberals who had worked with the American Peace Mobilization resigned when it changed to a prowar organization, but for years afterward some of them found themselves labelled fellow-travelers, and their social effectiveness diminished, because of this association.

Wallace and the Comrades

Today we find Henry Wallace engaging in an effort to work with Communists in his new party. Judging from past experience, the result is easily predictable—the machinery of the new party, already largely under Communist control, will become increasingly so, until virtually all the key non-Communists leave the organization. Wallace prefers to say what his Stalinist-engineered audiences wish to hear, as when he deleted sections of his speech slightly critical of Russia at a Madison Square Garden rally because his audience booed one such reference. Today Wallace is silent when asked his position on slave labor in the Soviet Union, and has no criticism of the USSR for its totalitarian coup in Czechoslovakia.

Those who participate in the Wallace Party will find themselves considered by many to be dupes of the Communists, will find their community leadership sharply weakened, and will find the Wallace party reduced to nothing when

the USSR finds a change of line requires its dissolution.

Fundamental to solving the problem of working with Communists is a knowledge of the philosophical basis of their actions. Certain that "the end justifies the means," Communists do not hesitate to get into organizations which they desire to destroy or capture, denying that they are Communists, and claiming to support wholeheartedly the purposes of the group. Thus FOR members would do well to be slow in accepting the professions of people who have nothing but good words for Russian imperialism and are critical only of American and British misdeeds. The test of a bona fide antiwar person is his opposition to militarism and imperialism by *all* nations. Anyone who welcomed Hitler backers into FOR groups during World War II would have weakened the FOR. Similarly, anyone who welcomes Stalinists into the peace movement, or who works with them, weakens his cause.

A Movement for Power

What is this Communist movement with which organizational cooperation is suicidal? It is a worldwide movement for power, professing ideals which have long been subordinated in fact to a fanatical struggle for physical power throughout the entire world, with Europe and Asia as current battlegrounds.

In this struggle, the various Communist parties must take their orders from Stalin, or be excommunicated. No questioning of the correctness of the line laid down by the Leader is permitted. Anyone who has discussed Stalin with Communist Party officials or old members will find that almost with-

out exception they refuse to admit that any error has ever been made, any wrong ever committed by the dictator in the Kremlin.

Communists are extremely well-disciplined. They attend the meetings of the organizations they belong to, they know the rules and how to get around or break them, they work hard and put in a lot more time and effort than most people are prepared to do. By always being on the spot, a tiny minority of Communists is able to capture an organization which they are permitted to penetrate. Their conviction that the end justifies the means permits them to use tactics of falsehood, fake parliamentarianism, deliberate disruption, and other sharp practices which make the average opportunist politician nearly virtuous by comparison.

Individual Party members may be personable, and very proper in their personal obligations, as no political question is involved; and some non-Party members who generally follow the Party line may not be nearly as fanatical in their support of the USSR or Stalin

as are Party members and close fellow-travelers. However, the apparent honesty of these individuals, who may often be found as leaders of Communist Party fronts, is no justification for accepting their invitations to come into their numerous "flycatchers" for unsuspecting liberals.

It will be asked if it is not possible to win a Communist away from his fanatical support of a totalitarian movement. Can we not work within their organizations to show them the error of their ways?

Unfortunately, the answer is no. The "common front" organizations are solidly controlled by a minority of the faithful. The lone liberal will find himself surrounded, and will discover at the end that he has wasted months or years which might have gone into constructive work. The only effective way to influence individual Communists is to befriend them as persons, and to teach them through good example. The attempt to cooperate with them organizationally in working for a "common end" is sure to result in failure and disillusionment, or worse.

Hymn to a War God

"Love Can't Halt Aggression, Says Anglican Church Report"

—Press Headline

*Unpatterned and
pagan god,
you are our love.*

*The other ones
(Jesu, Buddha)
are perfectly cast:*

*images for
a polished hour.*

*You are for time
when images fail.
You are our love.*

JAMES HOLMES

Vicarious Atonement

By MILTON MAYER

Two years ago the atomic scientists could have been of some service to themselves and their country. Today they are bums. And they are bums of that particularly unattractive sort that show up at the Rescue Mission on stew night with the sole motivation of eating, and without any intention whatever of being rescued unless their rescue can be accomplished without their doing an honest day's work.

The country has, I think, a half-conscious realization of this fact, and that is why it does not pay any especial attention any more to their cries of, "Wolf! Wolf!" *They* are the wolves, and the country is half-conscious of the fact that if they don't devour us no one else will.

The scientists who made Hiroshima possible—the most unmitigated atrocity since Herod—are making the next Hiroshima possible. We are told that the original bomb, which devastated three square miles, has been improved to the point where it will devastate three hundred square miles. The improvements have been made by the men who, on their night out, instead of going to the movies or to prayer, inform the Elks or the Eagles of the horrors of atomic war and the desperate necessity of world government. Their sin, compounded by hypocrisy, is worse than Faust's; they have sold, not only their own souls, but their fellowmen's bodies.

And they are going right on with

their selling. A couple of weeks after Hiroshima, Sam Alinson made a speech in which he said, "The second bomb"—Nagasaki—"was a tragedy." Sam, for years an ordinary, unpretentious male schoolmarm like the rest of us, was suddenly an authority on tragedy by virtue of his having coordinated the chain-reaction experiment at the University of Chicago. That line of his haunts me. "The second bomb was a tragedy." I suppose the first was a good-natured prank, and I am going to keep an ear bent to hear Sam's estimate of the third when it falls, providing, of course, that as a result of his coordinating, Sam is not (as we used to say of my mother's sunshine cake) out of this world.

But Sam is one of the little, or no bigger than middle-sized, malefactors whose services, I don't doubt, were no more in demand than yours or mine are. It is not of Sam and his kind that I spitefully sing. The Alinsons and the Mayers of this world have got to be heroic in order to be moral. Their bread and salt is precarious. If they talk out of turn, they are out in the street. The moral act of saying, "No," is beyond their modest means.

It is, rather, the Big Wheels, the Shoguns, whom I judge, fully aware that, in judging them, I stand in danger of the judgment myself. It is men like Arthur Compton, who, as a Nobel Prize winner in Physics, could have got work elsewhere if he had not wanted to

murder his brother. And Arthur I judge hardest of all, because he, unlike most of the murderers, is a professing Christian, given to such testimony as, "From earliest childhood I have learned to see in Jesus the supreme example of one who loves his neighbors and expresses that love in actions that count." Arthur's action that counted was in Hiroshima, and his neighbors are dead at his hand.

And as Arthur makes a mockery of Christianity—is it any wonder that the simple Russians are grown Godless?—so do the rest of the nuclear cannibal chiefs make a mockery of democracy. Enrico Fermi makes no mockery, except, in his own person, of man himself. Enrico proclaims himself non-political, thereby epitomizing the ex-man turned scientist, and displaying, in his very essence, the truth enunciated by Robert M. Hutchins, who said, very long ago, that men alone have moral purposes, and that science, separated from the moral purposes given it by men, is neither moral nor immoral, but amoral. Fermi is a moral eunuch.

More malevolent, in their effect, than either Compton or Fermi, are Albert Einstein and Harold Urey. Einstein thought up the bomb, and Urey's highly specialized genius overcame the central obstacle to its manufacture. These are a pair of unlovely characters indeed, with whom I do not hope, ever, to shake hands since their hands, in the words of Isaiah, are full of blood. They are now the chairman and vice-chairman, respectively, of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. Since it was they who

concocted the emergency, it is perfectly proper that they should head the emergency committee.

They, like Fermi and Compton, and like so many of the bums who pile into the Rescue Mission on stew night, could have got honest work if they wanted it. Each of them has enough Nobel Prizes to choke the Loch Ness monster. If they didn't want to blow up the world, they did not have to cry

personal necessity. I repeat; the May-ers of this world, who steal, and maim, and burn, and kill, would have to be heroic to be moral. But the Einsteins and

the Ureys can always, if they are so minded, get work of a highly paid and innocent nature.

The inescapable inference from their behavior, before and since Hiroshima, is that they want to blow up the world. When they want not to, they will stop doing it and carry the fight to those scientists and nonscientists who insist on trying to. When they repent their own handiwork, having first confessed its murderousness, they can begin their atonement by turning from it and engaging themselves in what Compton, the Christian, calls "actions that count." I say that they can *begin* their atonement that way. How they can *end* it is up to the dead of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The pretense, of course—and we have the Rabbi Jesus' word for it that the greater the pretense, the greater the damnation—is that while the atomic scientists have as yet produced nothing but mass murder, they are working on wonders which, any day now, will be

On Certain Atomic Scientists
*A consummate evil has been
brought to pass;
Behold disconsolate Pandora
weeping on the grass!*

—ELIZABETH O'NEILL

converted into "actions that count," in medicine and in industry. But those who suspected all along that this was a great lie had their suspicions confirmed a few weeks ago when Carroll Wilson, the general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, assured the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy that the Commission is spending 90 percent of its funds on atomic weapons.

The little stiff who works in the murder camps at Oak Ridge, Los Alamos and Hanford, and in university laboratories across the country, are more to be pitied than scorned; they are not great men, and murder is the only business that pays them a handsome wage. A few of them have, nevertheless, proved heroic enough to go and sin no more. At least one, at Ohio State, refused to touch the thing from the beginning; he is now teaching, at a pittance, in a hilltop college somewhere. He knew, as

the rest did not, that "he who mounts the wild elephant goes where the wild elephant goes."

The rest who, deluded or self-deluded, hung on to the elephant through Hiroshima and Nagasaki now know where it goes. Some few have got off, including one, and, so far as I know, only one of the Big Boys, Norbert Wiener of M.I.T. The rest, however many think they would like to dismount, find the elephant irresistibly upholstered and, in contrast, the ground implacably hard.

But the Einsteins and the Ureys, with all their world government twaddle, can dismount at will and land in velvet. Quietly, if all they want to save is their souls; noisily, if they want to save the world. No man builds world government and atomic bombs at the same time. No man makes peace and poison at the same time. No man at once adores and crucifies Christ.

The Quiet One

*Almost, I could ignore this hungering.
It is a quiet, unprotesting need
Unlike the body's appetites, which bring
Such loud, intense alarms that I must heed!
I see myself, my selves, encircled here
Within the limits of this mortal life:
The lion and the tiger rage and leer;
Wolf, bear, and panther are in constant strife.
Day after day, they yelp and push and roar,
Demanding first attention; the gazelle
Behind them does not clamor at the door,
But languishes for care in this, my cell.
Some day, the noisy, greedy beasts shall wait,
And I shall tend the quiet one—too late?*

—ELINOR LENNEN

The Church— the Christian— and War

[The text of a memorandum submitted by seventy religious leaders of many nations to Commission IV, on "The Church and International Affairs," of the Assembly at Amsterdam of the World Council of Churches.]

Introduction

THE Call to the Churches announcing the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches to be held in Amsterdam in August, 1948, states the main theme before the Assembly to be *Man's Disorder and God's Design*, and says:

The design of God declares itself in the new environment for our lives that has been created by the acts of God in Christ. In this life, death and resurrection, and in the coming of the Church, a new beginning has been made in human history. "What is old has gone, the new has come."

Confessing that the churches "have been partakers in man's disorder" the Call voices the hope that

With the blessing of God, this Assembly can mark a new experience of the glory of God, and a new acceptance by Christians and Christian churches of their responsibility for seeking continually to bring the whole of human life and relations under the Kingship of Christ. . . . We long for the day when the Lord Jesus Christ shall recapture the churches and, manifesting his glory, lead them to speak with one clear voice and to act as

WORLD CONFERENCE

On August 23 there opened in Amsterdam the first great postwar conference of the ecumenical Christian Church—the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Believing that the challenge of the Christian pacifist position ought to be faced by the Assembly, seventy eminent theologians and church leaders drew up a memorandum calling on the Church to renounce war utterly. This is the first publication of the text of that memorandum.

those who serve him only as their Lord.

Among the appalling manifestations of "man's disorder" is the evil of war. If "God's design" for human society is even in some slight measure to be restored in our age, this evil must be abolished. In order that this may be accomplished, it is clearly essential that on this subject of war and participation in it on the part of the churches and their members, the churches should now speak, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, "with one clear voice."

The Oxford (1937) World Conference declared in its message to the Christian churches:

The Universal Church, surveying the nations of the world, in every one of which it is now planted and rooted, must pronounce a condemnation of war unqualified and unrestricted. War can occur only as a fruit and manifestation of sin. This truth is unaffected by any question of what may be the duty of a nation which has to choose between entry upon war and a course which it believes to be a betrayal of right, or what may be the duty of a Christian citizen whose country is involved in war. The condemnation of war stands, and also the obligation to seek the way of freeing mankind from its physical, moral and spiritual ravages.

Section VII of the Message and Decisions of Oxford, entitled *The Church and War*, reaffirmed this unequivocal condemnation of war:

War involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage against human personality, and a wanton distortion of the truth. War is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in this world, and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and him crucified. No justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize this fact.

The Section then proceeded to deal with the "agonizing perplexity" in which the Christian is involved as he seeks "to bear in mind both the absolute command, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, and the obligation to do what most nearly corresponds to that command in the circumstances confronting him." It called attention to the fact that there are widely divergent views in the churches regarding participation in war.

Oxford, however, pointed out

that the Church "cannot rest in permanent acquiescence in the continuance of these differences, but should do all that is possible to promote the study of the problem by people of different views meeting together to learn from one another as they seek to understand the purpose of God as revealed in Jesus Christ."

Since these words were written the world has passed through the experience of global war, occupation, resistance, and emergence of atomic weapons. We are confronted with the complete collapse of efforts to make the peace, with an atomic armaments race and the waging of a "cold" war between two rival powers which now largely dominate the earth.

Under these circumstances it would seem necessary and inevitable that a restudy and a further definition of the Christian attitude toward war be undertaken at the Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in August, 1948, and in the discussions leading up to that Assembly. The undersigned are convinced that these discussions, if they are to have our Lord's blessing, must proceed in that spirit of Christian love, unity, and humility which Oxford enjoined upon the Church and all its members and which the Call to the Amsterdam Assembly invokes. In this spirit and with the prayer that it may in some measure contribute to the achievement of our Lord's purpose "that they all may be One," the following statement is submitted for consideration and adoption at Amsterdam.

I

"God's Design" has been revealed in Christ. This revelation has three main aspects: Incarna-

tion, Atonement, and Resurrection. The relation of the Church and of the Christian to war ought to be determined by these basic elements of the Christian faith.

The Incarnation is the fact that God himself has fully entered history in Christ and there disclosed his nature and will. Revelation is thus ultimate and cannot appeal to any standard beside itself. The Incarnation thus repudiates all historical relativisms which deny the availability of absolute authority and standards.

The Atonement reveals the divine method of overcoming evil and redeeming sinners. The God who is absolute love became flesh in his Word to effect through the Cross the eternal fellowship which is his historic purpose in Christ Jesus. In the life of Jesus, and above all in the Cross which sealed it, a characteristic way of meeting and overcoming evil is revealed. Jesus never belittled or condoned the stark reality of evil, but he never met it with its own weapons. He overcame evil with good. This positive redemptive method of overcoming evil found its supreme climax in the Cross, which Jesus deliberately willed to endure rather than prove false to that chosen redemptive way.

The Resurrection declared that Christ is victor over the law, sin, and death. God waits for man to avail himself by faith and obedience, in all areas of life, of the fruits of his victory. Though human history is but part of the total drama, the Resurrection applies to this history.

The Christian Church is the Body of Christ, the communion of those who believe in the Incarnation, Atonement and Resurrection. God is still in history, through Christ,

as the Holy Spirit by means of the Church. The Church is a fellowship of forgiveness and redemptive concern, a supranational community, grounded in the supernatural order and revealing the continuous victory of the Resurrection by the power of its faith, its witness and its spiritual fruits.

The Revelation in Christ also discloses the nature and purpose of the Created Order. History and nature, too, are God's means of creating fellowship whereby he indirectly conditions and controls the destiny of man without directly determining it. In the long past, this order of creation is God's indirect conditioning and control of man's responsible freedom, leading him to seek a better fellowship beyond the contradictions he experiences within the order of need, law, sin, judgment, and death.

State's "God-Given" Function

The State has, at least in our stage of history, a God-given function. All church members have therefore also a duty, as citizens, to the State, and, as children of God, for the State. On the other hand, the State is subject to the law and judgment of God.

Because the Church evolves as an institution in history it participates, as does the individual Christian, in both the orders of redemption and creation. Yet the Church is an act of the Holy Spirit, the Body of Christ, and it exists primarily and distinctively in the order of redemption.

Because man has made sinful use of his freedom, the order of creation is actually characterized by sinful refusal of fellowship—hatred, violence, war—and by perversions of fellowship, and by partial, unsatisfactory fellowship.

Nevertheless, God's authority is supreme, both in the order of creation and in the order of redemption. In Christ God's concern for the creation of a rich and free fellowship among men is revealed. The whole material and historic realm was ordained of God as a means to the realization of this fellowship and a medium for its expression.

The Church, therefore, must not become conformed to this world. "If the salt have lost its savor . . . it is good for nothing." The Church in the name of its Lord must judge the world both by its message and its stand, its word and its works. Above all, it must be a saving and redemptive power in and for the world. The order of creation must be increasingly lighted and led by the order of redemption. "The works that I do shall ye do also."

Even though true church members are more conscious of sin and the need of forgiveness than others, this consciousness and the fact that they participate also in a sinful order must never, therefore, make them deny the presence of the Holy Spirit in history. Even though the leaven has not leavened the whole lump, it is still leaven; and by becoming more potent it can in God's time and by his grace leaven the lump.

Highest Duty to God

It follows that when duty to the State conflicts with the primary duty to God and to the nature and requirements of the Christian fellowship, duty to the State at this point becomes subordinate. From there on the sons of God exercise their freedom through their responsibility to God for the State. The fullest possible nonparticipation in the evil then becomes the

strongest witness of the Church and the Christian. True responsibility to the State is exercised by calling the State back from its defiance of God, its self-destruction and destruction of others.

Such nonconformity is possible and effective, as was demonstrated by Christians in the infancy of the Church and as has been demonstrated in our own time by churches and their members who even in totalitarian states have disobeyed Caesar and refused to conform to his decrees.

Progress and the Conscience

Under the guidance, we believe, of the Holy Spirit, the Christian conscience has thus at various times become particularly sensitive upon a particular issue, because it has seen there an eruption-point of the forces of evil in their defiance of the law of God. It is precisely thus that the tension resulting from the humble and sincere effort to obey the absolute law of the Kingdom in a world not wholly redeemed contributes to ethical progress.

Though seemingly foolish and impotent the Church and its members thus become in the darkest hour channels through which the wisdom and power of God are released in history and evil is overcome. God's power is made perfect in weakness. In seeming to lose its life the Church has found it and has imparted new life to the world.

II

These considerations constitute the basis for Christian reflection upon the question with which we began: that of the attitude of the Church and the Christian toward war in the light of the conditions under which we now live.

The true nature of modern war has now been revealed as unquestionably totalitarian and involving the elevation of military expediency to the supreme principle of human conduct in wartime. There is now no serious doubt among thinking people, whether in or out of the Church, that war must be abolished if our civilization is to survive. It may be that the very survival of the human race on earth hinges upon the prevention of atomic and bacterial war. Nor do God and history give us unlimited time. The situation is as urgent as it is grave.

It is now obvious that efforts to set limits to war are futile, that the old measures to abolish war are inadequate, and that merely multiplying the energies devoted to such measures is entirely useless. Human wisdom has proved foolishness. The mightiest instruments of material power have become sources of insecurity and weakness. The world must be saved by the power and wisdom of God in Christ or it will perish. If in this hour the Church of Christ has no *distinctive* message to the nations, if it does not lead them to a great act of reconciliation through faith in the power of the Spirit rather than the weapons of the flesh, an unprecedented catastrophe will overwhelm mankind. Our churches will stand under the terrible judgment of their Crucified and Risen Lord.

We are accordingly led to the following specific conclusions on the attitude of the Church and the Christian toward war:

1. The Church, which is the Body of Christ and the incarnation of the Holy Spirit, cannot ever be at war. The nature and function of the

Church to be a redemptive community inseparably uniting men in self-giving concern, and that of war which openly divides men by total conflict, are completely contradictory. Force which is susceptible of constructive employment for the common welfare roots back into the very nature of the created order. This in no wise alters the fact that the destructive and unrestrained violence of modern war is utterly inconsistent with the nature and task of the Church.

Accordingly, when war is being waged, the Church must first of all witness to the purpose of God in Christ Jesus by being radically itself. Its greatest service is to be alive in and demonstrate the power of a higher order of life than that of the secular society about it. It must be the universal, supranational fellowship of redemptive love which refuses to participate in violence and war. It cannot do otherwise and yet remain Christian.

Should Not Participate

2. From the nature and function of the Church it follows also that the members of the Church should not participate in war. Christians cannot love universally as church members and yet fight with each other as citizens. Christian citizens have real duties to the State, but their first duty is to Christ. When they cannot obey both God and country, their first duty is to God.

3. The Church today must call upon peoples and governments, unitedly or singly, to cease from war and from war preparations, to abandon the weapons of mass destruction and to adopt peaceful procedures for the settlement of conflict and overcoming of tyranny or aggression. The Church must

not shrink from thus summoning all the nations and each nation to a radical repentance, to casting away the weapons of the flesh, to faith in the divine method of overcoming evil and reconciling men revealed in the Cross, to the adoption of "God's design" for the ordering of the nation's and the world's life.

The Church is worldwide and could creatively empower and guide the whole order of creation if the Church were truly the Church. As Christians, we have failed the world by remaining too much on its level in thought and

action, doubting the power and love of God and not becoming increasingly baptized by the Holy Spirit to the bearing of rich spiritual fruits. We need true repentance and reformation. That could help the world by providing a steady light and a constant source of power.

Even if in this supreme crisis the Church's being Christian should fail to affect substantially and desirably the life of our time, leading instead to her suffering and disdain, the issues of history are in God's hands and all we are bid is to be faithful.

Signed by—

Locations and titles are given for purposes of identification only. Signers have given their names in their individual and not their official capacities.

Argentina

Sante U. Barbieri, Rector, Union Theological Seminary, Buenos Aires

Belgium

Jacques Harte, President, Conseil d' Eglise Cretienne Missionnaire

Philippe Vernier, Pastor, Quaregnon

Canada

Willard Brewing, Minister, St. George's United Church, Toronto

James T. Dawson, General Superintendent, British Methodist Episcopal Church

James M. Finlay, Minister, Carlton Street United Church, Toronto

Frederick W. Norwood, Minister, St. James United Church, Montreal

J. Lavell Smith, Superintendent, The Church of All Nations, Toronto

Chile

Enrique C. Balloch, South American Bishop for Methodist Board of Foreign Missions

China

S. H. Fong, President, West China University, Chengtu

Liao Hung-Ying (Mrs. H. D. Bryan), British Council, Nanking

J. Usang Ly, Chairman of the National Committee, YMCA of China

Christopher Tang, Instructor of Church History, Nanking Theological Seminary

Wallace Wang, President, West China Union Theological College, Chengtu

Czechoslovakia

Five signers whose names are withheld

Denmark

Einar Ege, *Dean, Cathedral of Roskilde*

France

Rene Charras, *Evangeliste, Free Church Mazet-St. Voy (Haute Loire)*

Charles Delizy, *Pastor, French Reformed Church, Freycenet, (Haute Loire); President, Consistoire de la Montagne*

Jacques Martin, *Editor, "Christianisme Social"*

Paul Ricoeur, *Professor of Philosophy, engaged in research studies for the Ministry of National Education*

Henri Roser, *Chairman of Evangelism, Reformed Church*

Edouard Theis, *Director, College Cevenol, Le Chambon-sur-Lignon*

André Trocmé, *Pastor, Reformed Church, Le Chambon-sur-Lignon*

Pierre Umdenstock, *Pastor, Reformed Church, Tence (Haute Loire)*

Germany

Rudolf Daur, *Pastor, Evangelische Kirche im Deutschland, Stuttgart*

Hermann Maas, *Decanus, E. K. I. D., Heidelberg*

Wilhelm Mensching, *Pastor, E. K. I. D., Petzen bei Buckeburg*

Harald Polchau, *Pastor, E. K. I. D., Berlin; former Chaplain, Berlin-Tegel Prison*

F. Siegmund-Schultze, *Professor, University of Muenster*

Great Britain

A. M. Chirgwin, *General Secretary, London Missionary Society*

Archibald C. Craig, *Formerly*

General Secretary, British Council of Churches

H. H. Farmer, *Professor of Systematic Theology, Westminster College, Cambridge University*

L. W. Grensted, *Nolloth Professor of the Philosophy of the Christian Religion, University of Oxford*

G. H. C. Macgregor, *Professor of Biblical Criticism, University of Glasgow*

D. M. Mackinnon, *Regius Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Aberdeen*

George F. MacLeod, *Iona Community, Scotland*

Charles E. Raven, *Master of Christ's College and Regius Professor of Divinity, University of Cambridge*

William Robinson, *Principal of Overdale College, Selly Oak, Birmingham*

India

C. S. Paul, *General Secretary, Student Christian Movement of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*

Japan

Iwawo Ayusawa, *Formerly Undersecretary, International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland; Executive Director, Central Labor Relations Board, Japanese Government*

Toyohiko Kagawa, *Preacher, Founder of Cooperatives, Author*

Michi Kawai, *Principal, Keisen Girls' School, Tokyo*

Michio Kozaki, *Moderator of the Church of Christ in Japan*

Tamaki Uemura, *President, National Council YWCA of Japan*

Netherlands

J. J. Buskes, *Ned. Hervormde Kerk, Amsterdam*

G. J. Heering, *University of Leyden*

- M. Hinlopen, *Ned. Hervormde Kerk, Amsterdam*
 T. O. Hylkema, *Mennonites, Amsterdam*
 Kr. Stryd, *Ned. Hervormde Kerk, s'Hertogenbosch*
- New Zealand**
 Alan A. Brash, *General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand; Secretary of the National Missionary Council*
 John Henderson, *Professor of Theology and Church History, Knox College; Dean of the Faculty of Theology, University of Otago, Dunedin*
- United States of America**
 Rufus D. Bowman, *President, Bethany Biblical Seminary, Church of the Brethren*
 George A. Buttrick, *Minister, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, N.Y.C.*
 Henry J. Cadbury, *Divinity School of Harvard University; Chairman, American Friends Service Committee*
 Adelaide T. Case, *Professor of Christian Education, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts*
 Edwin T. Dahlberg, *former President, Northern Baptist Convention*
 Albert E. Day, *Minister, Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland*
 William J. Faulkner, *Dean of Chapel, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee*
 Nels F. S. Ferré, *Abbott Professor of Theology, Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, Newton Centre, Massachusetts*
 Elmer A. Fridell, *Secretary for China, Japan, the Philippines, American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society*
- Elwood L. Haines, *Bishop of Iowa, Protestant Episcopal Church*
 Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Yale University; President, American Historical Association*
 E. K. Higdon, *Secretary, Department of Oriental Missions, United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ*
 Paul S. Johnson, *Professor of Psychology of Religion, Boston University School of Theology*
 William E. Lampe, *Secretary, Evangelical and Reformed Church*
 W. Appleton Lawrence, *Bishop of Western Massachusetts, Protestant Episcopal Church*
 Charles Tudor Leber, *Secretary, Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, USA*
 D. P. McGeachy, *Minister, Presbyterian Church, US, Clearwater, Fla.*
 William Stuart Nelson, *Dean, School of Religion, Howard University, Washington, D. C.*
 Albert W. Palmer, *Moderator, Congregational-Christian Churches, USA*
 Edwin McNeill Poteat, *President, Colgate-Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, New York*
 Carl C. Rasmussen, *Professor of Systematic Theology, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania*
 F. P. Stocker, *President, Provincial Elders' Conference, Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*
 Ernest Fremont Tittle, *Minister, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois*

The Church and the Peoples of the World

By DIETRICH BONHOEFFER

"I WILL hear what God the Lord will speak: for he will speak peace unto his people, and to his saints." (Psalm 85: 6) Between the twin crags of nationalism and internationalism ecumenical Christendom calls upon her Lord and asks his guidance. Nationalism and internationalism have to do with political necessities and possibilities. The ecumenical Church, however, does not concern itself with these things, but with the commandments of God, and regardless of consequences it transmits these commandments to the world.

Our task as theologians, accordingly, consists only in accepting this commandment as a binding one, not as a question open to discussion. Peace on earth is not a problem, but a commandment given at Christ's coming. There are two ways of reacting to this command from God: the unconditional, blind obedience of action, or the hypo-

critical question of the Serpent: "Yea, hath God said . . . ?"

This question is the mortal enemy of obedience, and therefore the mortal enemy of all real peace. "Hath God not said . . . ? Has God not understood human nature well enough to know that wars must occur in this world, like laws of nature? Must God not have meant that we should talk about peace, to be sure, but that it is not to be literally translated into action? Must God not really have said that we should work for peace, of course, but also make ready tanks and poison gas for security?" And then perhaps the most serious question: "Did God say you should not protect your own people? Did God say you should leave your own a prey to the enemy?"

No, God did not say all that. What he has said is that there shall be peace among men—that we shall obey him without further question,

Dietrich Bonhoeffer

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a young Lutheran minister and an FOR member, was leader of the German Christian Youth Movement before the war. This speech was delivered by him fourteen years ago, at a preliminary meeting of the Ecumenical Council of Christian Churches, at Fano, Denmark. Bonhoeffer, who clung to his pacifist convictions throughout, was imprisoned by the Nazis and died in a concentration camp during the war.

that is what he means. He who questions the commandment of God before obeying has already denied him.

There shall be peace because of the Church of Christ, for the sake of which the world exists. And this Church of Christ lives at one and the same time in all peoples, yet beyond all boundaries, whether national, political, social, or racial. And the brothers who make up this Church are bound together, through the commandment of the one Lord Christ, whose Word they hear, more inseparably than men are bound by all the ties of common history, of blood, of class and of language. All these ties, which are part of our world, are valid ties, not indifferent; but in the presence of Christ they are not ultimate bonds. For the members of the ecumenical Church, in so far as they hold to Christ, his word, his commandment of peace is more holy, more inviolable than the most revered words and works of the natural world. For they know that whoso is not able to hate father and mother for His sake is not worthy of him, and lies if he calls himself after Christ's name. These brothers in Christ obey his word; they do not doubt or question, but keep his commandment of peace. They are not ashamed, in defiance of the world, even to speak of eternal peace. They cannot take up arms against Christ himself—yet this is what they do if they take up arms against one another! Even in anguish and distress of conscience there is for them no escape from the commandment of Christ that there shall be peace.

How does peace come about? Through a system of political treaties? Through the investment of international capital in differ-

ent countries? Through the big banks, through money? Or through universal peaceful rearmament in order to guarantee peace? Through none of these, for the single reason that in all of them peace is confused with safety. There is no way to peace along the way of safety. For peace must be dared. It is the great venture. It can never be made safe. Peace is the opposite of security. To demand guarantees is to mistrust, and this mistrust in turn brings forth war. To look for guarantees is to want to protect oneself. Peace means to give oneself altogether to the law of God, wanting no security, but in faith and obedience laying the destiny of the nations in the hand of Almighty God, not trying to direct it for selfish purposes. Battles are won, not with weapons, but with God. They are won where the way leads to the Cross. Which of us can say he knows what it might mean for the world if one nation should meet the aggressor, not with weapons in hand, but praying, defenseless, and for that very reason protected by "a bulwark never failing"?

The Church Can Speak

Once again, how will peace come? Who will call us to peace so that the world will hear, will have to hear? So that all peoples may rejoice? The individual Christian cannot do it. When all around are silent, he can indeed raise his voice and bear witness, but the powers of this world stride over him without a word. The individual church, too, can witness and suffer—oh, if it only would!—but it also is suffocated by the power of hate. Only the one great Ecumenical Council of the Holy Church of Christ over all the world can speak

out so that the world, though it gnash its teeth, will have to hear, so that the peoples will rejoice because the Church of Christ in the name of Christ has taken the weapons from the hands of their sons, forbidden war, and proclaimed the peace of Christ against the raging world.

Why do we fear the fury of the world powers? Why don't we take the power from them and give it back to Christ? We can still do it today. The Ecumenical Council is in session; it can send out to all believers this radical call to peace. The nations are waiting for it in the East and in the West. Must we be put to shame by non-Christian peoples in the East? Shall we desert the individuals who are risking their lives for this message? The hour is late. The world is choked

with weapons, and dreadful is the distrust which looks out of all men's eyes. The trumpets of war may blow tomorrow. For what are we waiting? Do we want to become involved in this guilt as never before?

"What use to me are crown, land, folk and fame?

They cannot cheer my breast.

War's in the land, alas, and on my name

I pray no guilt may rest."*

We want to give the world a whole word, not a half word—a courageous word, a Christian word. We want to pray that this word may be given us, today. Who knows if we shall see each other again another year?

* M. Claudius.

Message from the I.F.O.R.

"THIS Regional Conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation assembled at Amsterdam, convinced of the present need of the world, mental, moral, socio-economic and political, urges out of deep conviction that the World Council of Churches shall declare itself in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-totalitarian and anti-militarist sense concerning the problems of the world—especially the problem of America, Russia, Germany and the atomic war—with a view to the establishment of a new order which shall be based on economic solidarity and on justice, both national and international, as well as on a recognition of human rights, and which shall in this way

lay the foundation of a permanent international order of justice.

"Such a prophetic service is expected at the present moment from the churches bearing the name of Jesus Christ; and not only in words must this constructive revolutionary service be made known to the world; the Christian churches must call their members to declare it in deeds both to the world and to its economic and political leaders.

"May the Church be not again unfaithful to her vocation. The Church is called to the ministry of reconciliation. We are sure that such a message from the Church would mean real release to a world tormented by fear."

News from the Peace Front

Two Hundred Announce Refusal to Register

The Resist Conscription Committee holds the names of more than 200 men and women who have signed a statement that they will refuse to register under any conscription law and will counsel others to refuse to register also. A nationwide program has been initiated to gather the names of more nonregistrants, and inquiries from interested persons will be welcomed by the Committee, whose address is Fifth Floor, 2929 Broadway, New York City 25. *

The Statement declares that "Just as Americans detested conscription in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Communist Russia, we are opposed to the adoption of the same evil in the the United States. No matter what the nation in question, conscription is a basic evil with which there must be no compromise."

The pledge of nonregistration, which comes at the end of the Statement, reads: "We will refuse to register under any conscription law which may be enacted and will counsel others of draft age, who are inwardly prepared, to refuse to register or comply with any provisions of a draft law."

Although most of the signers are outside the categories required to register now, they are subject to the same penalties as non-registrants, since they are counseling non-registration.

Signers include Henry Hitt Crane, Bernard C. Clausen, Doro-

thy Day, Milton Mayer, A. J. Muste, Dwight Macdonald, Ralph Templin, Cecil Hinshaw and Richard B. Gregg.

300 Ministers Urge Non-Registration

In a "Letter to American Christians of Draft Age" and to their friends, families and ministers, as reported briefly in the July FELLOWSHIP, over 300 clergymen urged refusal to register for the draft.

"The heart of the Christian message is that in a situation where there is so much distrust, fear and evil, as between Russia and the United States today, a great act of faith and reconciliation is required. Good will and love must be brought to bear on an unprecedented scale. . . ." The statement advocates unilateral disarmament for the United States, while the country at the same time calls for universal disarmament. It then goes on to urge young men to refuse to register for the draft, and their friends, families and ministers to support them in doing so.

Recognizing that "to make this proposal is to ask the American people to be willing to pay a great price for peace," the statement goes on to point out that while people are willing to pay vast sums for war, they act as if peace could be had for practically nothing.

In addition to disarmament and

individual draft resistance, the statement calls for "dozens and hundreds of young people" to go forth carrying the Christian teaching against war in this country, and for a thousand young people to seek admittance to Russia to urge their youth to unite with them to build "a revolutionary international of nonviolence and good will."

Newspaper editorials, universally unsympathetic, applied such terms as "muddled idealism verging on the subversive" to the action, and said it "contributes to a misunderstanding of our nation's purposes." They asserted that this country was arming merely for defense and to preserve the peace, against a Power that only understands force.

CO Provisions Under Conscription

The Selective Service Act of 1948, passed on June 19 and signed by the President soon after, provides for deferment for COs judged sincere. Although some think that this is more lenient than CO provisions during wartime, other groups consider the definition of a conscientious objector more narrow. Only religious COs are recognized, not objections based on essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a "merely personal moral code."

The Act reads:

Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the armed forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation

to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code. Any person claiming exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections whose claim is sustained by the local board shall, if he is inducted into the armed forces under this title, be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or shall, if he is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, be deferred. Any person claiming exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections shall, if such claim is not sustained by the local board, be entitled to an appeal to the appropriate appeal board. Upon the filing of such appeal, the appeal board shall refer any such claim to the Department of Justice for inquiry and hearing. The Department of Justice, after appropriate inquiry, shall hold a hearing with respect to the character and good faith of the objections of the person concerned, and such person shall be notified of the time and place of such hearing. The Department of Justice shall, after such hearing, if the objections are found to be sustained, recommend to the appeal board that (1) if the objector is inducted into the armed forces under this title, he shall be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or (2) if the objector is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, he shall be deferred. If after such hearing the Department of Justice finds that his objections are not sustained, it shall recommend to the appeal board that such objections be not sustained. The appeal board shall, in making its decision, give consideration to, but shall not be bound to follow, the recommendation of the Department of Justice together with the record on appeal from the local board. Each person whose claim for exemption from combatant training and service because of conscientious objections is sustained shall be listed by the local board on a register of conscientious objectors.

Violation of the act, or counseling others to violate it, may be punished by "imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than \$10,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

AFSC Offers to Aid Objectors to Draft

The American Friends Service Committee has notified Congress and the American people that it stands ready to offer "ministry and aid" to those who "for religious or conscientious reasons stand opposed to conscription and war," whether their opposition takes the form of refusal to register, counseling non-compliance with the law, alternative service, etc.

The AFSC reiterated its opposition to conscription and war, and while admitting that "it is a grave responsibility to stand before a world which relies on military force and to assert that such reliance can never lead to creative peace," stated that it felt the obligation now to make its position known.

The statement, signed by Henry Cadbury and Clarence Pickett for the AFSC, concludes with an appeal "to our fellow citizens" to live out their highest responsibilities in the faith that the power of such a way of life might "set our country on a new course of understanding among all peoples."

Consider Voluntary CO Alternatives

Deferment under the Selective Service Act of 1948, which is complete for COs adjudged sincere and religious, is in a very real sense an act of grace, when other men are being drafted for 21 months' service in the armed forces, some religious bodies feel. The Mennonite Central Committee and the Brethren Service Commission have therefore announced that they will give serious thought to the

possibility of voluntary service projects. They believe that in this way COs could demonstrate their concern for human welfare.

Nothing definite has been decided, and announcement will be made later regarding such projects.

CO Begins Six Month Sentence

On July 16, 1948, Arthur Emery, CO who walked out of a CPS dairy farm job on July 5, 1945, began serving a six months' sentence for the offense. He was sentenced on June 6, 1946, and appealed, but lost the appeal on June 10, 1948. Emery is imprisoned in the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Ct.

Quakers Plan Gift to Russia

The American Friends Service Committee has announced that it is making a gift of streptomycin to the Russian people, and hopes that "this may be the first of a series of reciprocal gestures between Russians and Americans." The gift is valued at \$25,000 and consists of 3,000 five-gram vials of the drug.

Distribution will be handled by the Russian Red Cross and the Red Crescent, and will bear in Russian the inscription: "This streptomycin is a testimony of good will and friendship from the American Friends Service Committee to be used to promote the health of the people of the USSR."

Clarence Pickett, who announced the donation for the AFSC, said that the Committee is continuing to explore further ways of cooperation

Friends Group for Unilateral Disarmament

The Peace Board of the Five Years Meeting of Friends has formulated and sent out to all Quaker bodies a ten-point peace program. The program calls for cell groups to work for peace, support of world government, unilateral as well as universal disarmament, international control of atomic energy and opposition to the Baruch plan, immediate peace talks with Russia, strengthening of the UN, and opposition to the militarization of the United States, including UMT.

Call Concludes FOR Uninfiltratable

In his column "On the Lookout" in the June 18 issue of the *Socialist Call*, Meyer Miller says: "In line with the Communist Party's current burst of 'pacifist' ardor, there are reports that it may even try to bore from within the established pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation. However, their chances of getting very far within that organization are rather slim, to say the least."

Bill to Repay Evacuation Claims

On June 19, that fateful final day before the adjournment of Congress, the evacuation claims bill was passed, authorizing the Attorney General to settle damage claims of persons of Japanese ancestry for the recovery of part of the losses they incurred in their forced removal from the West Coast more than six years ago.

The bill gives the Attorney General the power to pay claims not

exceeding \$2,500 for damage or loss of property resulting from the evacuation. Any awards above \$2,500 must be approved by Congress. It is estimated by the government that the Japanese left behind about \$200,000,000 worth of property, and estimates of the amount of claims that will be filed run from \$10,000,000 to \$100,000,000.

Applications for claims must be submitted within 18 months of enactment of the bill.

Answer "Here!"

This year of the passage of peacetime conscription, when the cold war is burning our fingers, is a time for FOR members to work hard. Yes, we even dare to say, "This year we must each do *more* than in other years."

Each year the Peace Roll Call gives FOR members a chance to bring the pacifist message to their friends; gives friends of peace outside the Fellowship a chance to contribute to a job many of them have a sneaking suspicion is the best job to be doing these days; and gives a big boost to the FOR budget after the inevitable summer slump, during which your FOR staff becomes convinced salaries won't be paid and baby won't get those new shoes.

If you've responded to PRC in past years, we know you will again—we can always count on our people that way. If you haven't, you're missing an opportunity and an obligation, both of which you'll be glad you took on.

Answer "Here!" to the Peace Roll Call!

Two Renounce American Citizenship

Because they want to be citizens of the world, Henry M. Noel, Jr., son of an American businessman and former Harvard student, and Garry Davis, son of orchestra leader Meyer Davis and himself an actor, have renounced their American citizenship.

In the spring, when the story of Henry Noel was suddenly uncovered, he had already been living and working in Germany for about six months, as a bricklayer's apprentice with a firm of building contractors in Kassel.

Noel served for two years in the American Field Service during the war, and as a driver with a relief organization in France for a year after it. He thinks that individuals can and should do something practical toward breaking down barriers themselves, and from this stems his present course. Also, he wishes to be an observer of the present "climax of nationalism" in world events without, by citizenship in one nation, seeming to give tacit approval to the situation.

Noel holds a letter from the American consul in Paris acknowledging receipt of the passport he turned in, and the fact that he had taken the Oath of Renunciation of Citizenship of the United States. He also holds a certificate of discharge from a German prison where he was jailed for entering Germany from France illegally, since he no longer had a passport; and these documents constitute his only legal means of identification. He lives on the same rations that the German citizen does, and is learning German as he goes along.

Garry Davis, who spent over three years in the Army Air Force

as a bomber pilot, announced his decision in Paris at the end of May. He feels that the world is in a state of international anarchy, and that individuals must break through the barriers that separate them. After leaving the Army, he worked for the World Federalists here.

Davis told reporters in Paris that he wanted to go to Germany to help reconstruct it. "After all, I'm responsible for some of the damage there," he said. "The only way the East-West conflict can be ended is for the peoples to get together. It's high time someone started to do something about it." He wrote to his father that he had forgotten to bring a Bible with him, and asked that one be sent.

Davis was still in France, at last accounts. He turned in his passport at the Embassy in Paris and there renounced his citizenship. Because he has no passport, he had no legal means of entering Germany.

Sayre, Trocme, Martin Speak in Italy

On a two-week speaking trip through Italy, Nevin Sayre, Magda Trocmé and Jacques Martin spoke in Venice, Florence, Sienna, Rome, Turin and other towns and cities. They presented the Christian pacifist position and were received with interest at their numerous meetings. It is their feeling that now is the critical time for the FOR to sow its seed in Europe.

On a Sunday morning Nevin Sayre preached in St. Paul's American Church in Rome—a church with famous mosaics by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, which had been built by Nevin's uncle, the Rev. Robert J. Nevin, who was its Rector for forty years.

World Movement for No More Hiroshimas!

Announcing the establishment of a World Peace Day 1948 on August 6, the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, an international committee with headquarters at 609 Santa Ray Avenue, Oakland 10, California, call on men all over the world to make it a day of prayer and dedication to the cause of peace.

According to the committee, "Each year since the Atom Bomb fell on Hiroshima, its surviving citizens have commemorated August 6 in a way now assuming the proportions of an avalanche. In 1946 the Christians met in the ruined shell of their church and expressed penitence: their former way of life had not been powerful enough to prevent the war. In 1947 ten thousand Hiroshimans met in their public park presided over by the Mayor, with the new Peace Constitution of Japan in his hand. They prayed the atom bomb might never fall on any other city in the world."

World Peace Day was observed in eighteen countries, including China, England, France, Germany, Japan, Norway, Sweden and the United States. The Northern Baptist Convention in the U.S., representing 1,600,000 members, was committed to observance of the day.

The List of Sponsors include many FOR members, as did the International Committee, among them Vera Brittain, Muriel Lester,

Orval Etter, Francisco Estrello and Emily Parker Simon.

Mrs. Sayre Injured, Return Delayed

In early July word was received that Kathleen Sayre, who accompanied Nevin on his trip to Europe, had fallen and again fractured the leg which she had broken before. Mrs. Sayre is now being treated in a London hospital, where she was moved from Vienna, and will have to remain there until sometime in October. Nevin will remain in Europe with her until she is able to come home, making some trips to conferences of importance. He was of course unable to attend the Eastern FOR Conference in August in this country.

TILL DEATH US DO PART. By Charles Wesley Amlin. Introduction by Carey McWilliams. Proposes completely new marriage law. With unconventional discussion of the religio-sexual. Send \$1 to Camden House, 2026 Camden Parkway, South Pasadena, Calif.

VACATION IN ENGLAND. FOR member Alan Mister, Duntish Farm Cottage, Buckland Newton, Dorchester, Dorset, would be happy to accommodate American FOR members visiting England, for periods up to two weeks. Farm nine miles from town, but bus passes door four times daily. Charge \$5 weekly on condition same amount given to American FOR.

CO with Bachelor of Electrical Engineering degree, CCNY, Class A license amateur radio operator, member American Institute of Electrical Engineers and Institute of Radio Engineers, would like other than war work. Write to Martin W. Abel, 630 Dumont Avenue, Brooklyn 7, New York.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

Jottings

On June 5 an anti-conscription demonstration was held in front of the White House in Washington. About 75 participated, some of the men wearing Uncle Sam suits and carrying signs reading "We don't want a goose-stepping Uncle Sam!"

* * *

Rumania's new penal code provides for heavy punishment for any racial insult as well as any racial discrimination in the appointing of officials, hiring workers, etc.

* * *

The Food Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that food prices are now 12.4 percent above last year and 125.6 percent above August, 1939.

* * *

On June 23 James Peck, ex-prison CO, chained himself to a banister in the White House and displayed his white shirt with the words "Veto the Draft." He distributed leaflets until arrested, but was released by police later in the day.

* * *

Buell Gallagher, FOR member and author of *Color and Conscience*, won the Democratic nomination for Representative in the 7th Congressional District of California.

* * *

Mandle Lerner and Dick Carpenter of Toledo University, after attending an FOR conference on jimcrow and the quota system in Ohio colleges, returned to start a minorities fellowship at their own. Clubs, fraternities and sororities sent representatives to the first meeting and the project is well under way.

Enrico and Georgine Molnar, who returned to Czechoslovakia last year from California, got back in June. Enrico Molnar preached in a village church while there, and it was with great difficulty that he and his wife managed to leave Czechoslovakia after the Communist *coup d'etat*.

* * *

The Canadian House of Commons in June repealed a section of the Dominion Elections Act which barred persons of Japanese ancestry from the ballot there.

* * *

On May 27 officials for the Pennsylvania Railroad told representatives of the FOR and CORE that Negroes riding south on a reserved coach train out of Pennsylvania Station may ride in other than a jimcrow car if they request it. Three Southern roads using Penn Station had followed the practice of assigning all Negroes to one car in such trains.

* * *

Members of the Pennsylvania Pharmaceutical Association at their annual convention in June decided to stop selling comic books in their drugstores until the comics are "cleaned up" by the publishers.

* * *

A special statutory Federal Court in June upheld the Taft-Hartley Law's provisions requiring union officers to file non-Communist affidavits. The court also upheld the Taft-Hartley provision which requires unions and corporations to file a statement of their finances with the government.

Gandhi's Birthday October 2

Because his life and works are, for this generation, the clearest expression of the meaning of non-violence and love, Gandhi's birthday—the first since his death—will be a memorable day. The International Committee to Commemorate Gandhi's Birthday, formed to help groups and individuals to spread Gandhi's unique and important message on this occasion especially, is promoting various projects for doing so. Not only is it important to keep Gandhi's message before the eyes of the world, the Committee feels, but pacifists throughout the world will use this unique opportunity, the birthday of the man known to all for the very things they stand for, to present their own message and program.

The Committee suggests the following possibilities for bringing the occasion to the public:

Organize a public meeting with a speech or speeches on Gandhi's works and beliefs. Write the Committee, 2929 Broadway, New York City 25, for help in getting speakers.

Hold a memorial service in your church, or ask your minister to do so, on October 3. Write the Committee for a suggested service.

Arrange a large public dinner, with a well-known speaker on Gandhi and his message. Write the Committee for speakers.

Write letters to the editors of your local papers to remind people of Gandhi's gospel of love and reconciliation, and of the FOR or other organizations you may belong to, which carry on in the same spirit.

Gandhi speaks

through these . . .

THEY SAW GANDHI

By John S. Hoyland

Gandhi as people of different castes and professions might have seen him, each interpreting his message differently.

\$1.75

GANDHI AND INDIA

Pacifist Research Bureau

Historical study and interpretation of his life and work, just published. Supplement to July FELLOWSHIP.

25c

KASTURBA, WIFE OF GANDHI

By Sushila Nayyar

With an Introduction by Mr. Gandhi. A touching story of life with the Gandhi's, by their adopted daughter.

50c

And about India . . .

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

By Ralph Templin

Autobiography of a pacifist missionary in India, and his struggle against the racial and class lines drawn between missionary and Indian society.

15c

BASIC FACTS ABOUT INDIA

India League Research Bureau

The geography, economy, politics, and people of India, facts handily condensed.

25c

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS

2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.



Books

Christian Resources

Defeat Triumphant, by Lewis MacLachlan. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, London. 88 pages. \$1.50.

Defeat Triumphant is not only to be welcomed as a British corrective of American pragmatic pacifism, but as a Christian corrective of secular pacifism.

More particularly under the direct challenge of war does pacifism as a philosophy and method need to review its philosophic and religious sources. The theological revival of the present day, influencing every area of human thought, could not fail to address itself in a special way to pacifism. It is unfortunate that the most vocal theological expression disposes of pacifism as romantic, sentimental, and Utopian. Emphasizing the sinfulness of human nature and human dependence upon the Grace of God, neo-orthodoxy sometimes appears to abandon the moral issues.

Mr. MacLachlan's book draws deeply on Christian resources as they reveal the essential goodness of life as created by God, its corruption under human pride, and God's method of redeeming it through conscious and willing vicarious suffering.

The title of the book suggests that the author is under no illu-

sions concerning the ease with which this method may be put into effect. In this sense the book offers another valuable corrective influence, that is, to the idea that is given prevalence in pacifist circles, that the method of defenselessness might be easily transferable from the realm of personal dealings into politics. Full recognition of the difficulties involved in the light of a realistic treatment of the political question will enable the pacifism of the future to make a sounder contribution to the healing of the nation.

—GEORGE M. GIBSON

Pamphlet Review

To Secure Our Civil Liberties, by Robert K. Carr. Social Action, 1948. 36 pp. 15c.

A presentation of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights in a shortened form, for wide distribution among people who haven't the time or energy to read the entire report. Gives the important and intelligent conclusions of the Committee, illustrated with revealing picture graphs.

—C. M.

Sweden's Labor Program, by Tage Lindbom. League for Industrial Democracy, 1948. 64 pp. 35c.

Swedish labor has the reputation for giving some of the soundest and most progressive and democratic leadership of any labor movement in the world. This pamphlet gives

a brief history of the Swedish labor movement, labor legislation and relations, discusses the Social Democratic Party, through which labor acts politically, labor's role in international relations, its postwar program for full employment, the extent of public and cooperative ownership, and closes with a survey of the workers' education movement and the labor press. Bibliography.

—C. M.

Further Adventures in Fellowship, the War Years and Up to 1947. Kingsley Hall, London. 1947. 32 pp. 25c.

A friendly, informal account of the wartime and postwar experiences in this neighborhood house, headed by Doris Lester.

—C. M.

Social Vision for the Church and Labor. National Religion and Labor Foundation, 1948. 25c.

Though not prepared to subscribe to all the contents of this pamphlet, we do commend it to all who are interested in economic and social problems and who believe that the churches should contribute to the eradication of economic injustice and to the achievement of a healthy social order.

I Was a Conscientious Objector

In Camp—In Prison—On Parole

By Joe Nunnally

6504 Raymond St. Oakland 9, Cal.

Price \$3.50 300 pages

Order from the author
or from:

**PISANI PRINTING AND
PUBLISHING CO.**

700 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, California

It contains an illuminating chapter by Prof. Liston Pope of Yale Divinity School on "The Church's Need for Social Vision," and sections containing valuable material and thought-provoking programs on subjects such as Feeding the Hungry, Civil Rights, Labor Legislation, and Monopoly and Scarcity.

—A.J.M.

Values Visibly Crumbling

Our Threatened Values, by Victor Gollancz, Introduction by Rufus M. Jones. Henry Regnery Co. 218 pp. \$2.50.

In some respects the title of this book is an understatement. The values it examines are, in some instances and in some places, more than threatened. They are far gone, wholly vanished, or visibly crumbling. There is relevance, in this connection, in Whitman's lines concerning liberty, from his "Songs of Insurrection":

"When liberty goes out of a place,
it is not the first to go, nor the
second or third to go,
It waits for all the rest to go—
it is the last."

Many people do not see the threat to their liberties, do not see in the values discussed by Mr. Gollancz the progressive departures after which their liberties surely will follow.

The greatest of these values, the focus of the book, is the sanctity of the individual personality, the "being in its own right" of every human soul. Is this not the essence of all liberty of body, mind and spirit? Yet contempt and disregard for the individual spreads in our society on many levels. The military is the supreme denial of personality, statism withers it, our competitive economy starves and strangles it.

Mr. Gollancz has boldly taken as his proving ground the touchy and unpopular case of our behavior as victors toward a vanquished Germany. His testimony is the more remarkable in this connection considering that he writes as an Englishman and as a Jew—having intense, double grounds for hatred and bitterness were he so disposed.

He tackles head-on the fact that we cannot hope to cherish personality among ourselves while acting in hatred and vengeance toward others. He cites the high ethic of the Jewish legend of the angels rejoicing when the Egyptians were engulfed in the Red Sea. God rebuked them: "What? My children are drowning, and ye would rejoice?" Extending the lesson, Gollancz says bluntly, "To talk of Huns and Wops: to rejoice when Joyce and Amery are sentenced to a shameful end: to think with pleasurable triumph of those wretched men in the dock at Nuremberg—all this is to blaspheme against respect for personality." This respect, he argues, "is today everywhere threatened. In thought, in speech, in act it suffers hourly dishonor. I must repeat that this, and not the atom bomb, is the major threat to our civilization."

Although he views capitalism as a primary enemy of personality he is quick to show that no economic measures can, of themselves, protect these values. The "specialized idealism" of communism is directed away from the sacredness of individuality. "A technically socialist state, in the economic sense, can be as illiberal, as materialistic, as inhumane as a capitalist one: indeed, it can be more so."

This book is a direct, vigorous challenge to Christian ethics precisely in the area where they are

hardest to apply. It is unfortunate that so much of the book, especially in the latter part, is devoted to topical discussion of allied policy in Germany. This tends to date the book and to cramp the free development of its main thesis, which is timeless.

Mr. Gollancz sees the fateful, sharpening clash between the forces of absolutism and anti-individualism and the tradition of respect for personality. "Well, then," he says, "there is nothing for it but to stand firm and fight it out; by which I am not thinking, God forbid, of atom bombs, but of steadfastness in act, of frankness in speech, and above everything of an utter devotion in thought and practice to our own ideals, and a heroic effort to spread them by force of example, throughout the world: always with the maximum of friendliness and the minimum of strife. We shall see which side will win. We cannot know, but what I do know is that if we lose, and lose we very well may, our struggle will have an eternal reality as something good in the world's history."

—EDMUND FULLER

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

Letters



World Government Problem

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The whole concept of collective security by inspection and control seems to me to be largely vitiated by the evidence that biological weapons are uncontrollable. No system of controls can be relied upon since no known type of inspection can hope to detect their preparation. A very few men in a tiny concealed laboratory could produce infectious germs enough to kill many millions.

Hanson Baldwin states this flatly in his latest book, as well as in his *Saturday Evening Post* article some months ago. It is documented more fully in the article on biological warfare in the May *Harpers*. The kind of controls needed to prevent the dissemination of such germs would have to be comprehensive and meticulous beyond any imaginable practicality.

If this be true, then the compulsion is upon us unescapably to create the kind of world where no one with any degree of sanity will *want* to do any such thing. (The *general* irrationality of the unbalanced will make them far easier to spot and to control.)

Facing so ominous a threat to all mankind, we have a dual task with an urgency beyond any previous understandings of that word: the spiritual one of removing a desire thus to devastate, and the governmental one of creating an order of sufficient justice that all sane men will wish to uphold it. I see little sign that this unique need is being recognized by many persons anywhere.

VERNON NASH
New York, N. Y.

Salary Scale Discussed

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The principle that salaries should be based primarily on need, described by Connie Muste in the June FELLOWSHIP, has likewise been adopted by the faculty of William Penn College and put into effect for the year 1948-49 by action of the Board of Trustees. Formulated by the five-member Faculty Council and then modified and approved by the faculty as a whole, this new salary schedule represents a further attempt to apply Christian principles to the operation of the College.

Penn instructors have always maintained a simple standard of living, so the new basis of payment helps to equalize more nearly the economic sacrifices involved and to increase the sense of membership in a cooperative community.

Every faculty member is paid a base salary of \$1500 for services rendered during the nine months of the academic year, this being considered adequate to meet the minimum essentials of a teacher living in a family unit. The special needs of single persons for extra travel and recreation expenses are recognized in a grant of 20% above the base. A married man is allowed 40% above the base for the support of his wife. Faculty members, whether single or married, are given a dollar for dollar allowance for any aged parents who may be dependent on them.

When a child is born to a Penn College teacher, the family's standard of living no longer takes so drastic a cut. For the first child, the teacher receives an increase of 21% of the base, for the sec-

ond, 18% (note the economies of hand-me-down clothes!), and for any others 15% more each. If the child is over 12 years of age, an additional 3% is provided. No one makes any profit from having children, but neither is the economic hardship there as it once was.

Modest bonuses reaching a maximum of 10% each for previous training and experience supplement the basic need items.

In any year when the College's tuition income from students is insufficient (as may well be the case in a draft year), everyone shares proportionately by receiving the same percentage reduction in his total increments above the base. As the American price level goes up or down, the base salary, theoretically, can be adjusted accordingly.

Although based on the best studies available, this scale may need modification in spots. Not all are agreed even on the basic principles involved. But most members of the William Penn College community agree with the FOR staff that the principle of need as a basis for salaries seems the best application of our Christian faith. And we hope other Christian colleges, churches, and businesses may experiment in this direction.

ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR.
Oskaloosa, Iowa

Policy of Despair

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I recently took my 18-year old nephew to an anarchist meeting, at which pacifists were also present, and where underground operations were discussed, forging draft cards, travelling under false names, etc. The boy was so shocked that really nothing could have been worse. The terrific idealism of youth is a touching thing—which the Army exploits shamefully.

I don't want to take a priggish attitude about what others do, and personally would not condemn anyone for leading the existence of a hunted man "on the

run"—if he can stand it. I think it takes courage to do that, and there is a political tradition back of such conduct. Hiding from the authorities in times of trouble has been widely practiced in Ireland and elsewhere.

But such methods have never been associated with the pacifist approach, and to adopt them as a general pacifist policy would in my opinion be to adopt a policy of despair. I think it would be an admission that our way has failed and that, after all our fine talk and great dreams, when it comes right down to it we have nothing better to offer than to take to our heels to save ourselves from the wreckage.

I believe that such a course would spell the end of the pacifist movement. It openly preaches dishonesty and means the complete abandonment of the moral values for which the movement has hitherto stood.

The incident made me realize that as an older person I cannot betray my ideals of openness. I honestly cannot at my age start going around with false whiskers!! Perhaps this is the latest thing—the New Look among pacifists. But I am afraid I will have to look the same as ever—which is pretty shady and spotty enough anyway.

ANNE EUNICE MOFFETT
New York, New York

Peace University

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have been flooding the press in this country and in India with the suggestion that a Gandhi Peace University be founded in India. So I thought I should do the same for the FOR since I am a member.

At such a university teachers of peace and students of peace from all over the world could come together to study Gandhi's life and methods and practice his disciplines besides studying other plans of peace.

DON BROWN
Corning, New York

A Magazine for Millions

. . . . but only thousands read it.

Sure, we admit it. FELLOWSHIP's readers number in the thousands, not the millions. We think that's too bad, and not only for us. It's too bad for the thousands and millions of people who never heard of FELLOWSHIP, and maybe never will.

We think it's too bad because FELLOWSHIP has something to say—not always as well said as it could be, though we try to see that it's clear and, if possible, concise; not the last word on the subject, because no subject of real and lasting significance can have a neat and perfect ending. But FELLOWSHIP tries to bring its readers intelligent insights into the problems that confront men daily and inexorably. Especially we are concerned with that activity called war which, as we all see more clearly every day, continues throughout the breathing periods we call peace; and with true peace, the other side of the coin.

FELLOWSHIP believes that peace is not the absence of war, or the precarious truce won by a balance of power, or the momentary respite of having "such overwhelming power that no one will dare attack us." Peace is a creative structure built on a foundation of many stones, but the cornerstone is Love. Without the world will stay chopped up into bickering tribes, self-conscious, prideful, and carelessly cruel. With Love in their hearts, men would feed the hungry, free the slaves, and throw away their weapons. The fact that these old, old cries are again literally true is a sign of the times we live in.

So FELLOWSHIP speaks to men everywhere, although many of them do not hear. Not the last word, we know; and (we admit it reluctantly) not always even the best word at the time; but a word we hope will have an insight and a significance for all of us groping around down here in the gloom.

In the past months we have had articles by such people as Harry Emerson Fosdick, whose Christmas meditation dealt with the contrast between size and vitality; Milton Mayer, whose ruthless honesty sometimes riles us, but more often makes us weep at our own shortcomings; Vera Brittain, who has reported in periodically from Germany, Switzerland and Great Britain; and A. J. Muste, whose penetrating analyses of current events as they flow past us, and sometimes engulf us, help to keep our heads above water.

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The Vanishing Buffalo

Along with the hippogriff and the Great Auk, the nickel is disappearing into oblivion. Ice cream cones are seven cents, the Pepsi-Cola choir no longer chants its nickel-nickel-nickel refrain, and even the New York subway has deserted its old friend the buffalo. For those who have been hoarding nickels for a trip to New York, complete with soft drinks, we offer our sympathies and a Way Out. For this month only, Fellowship will send you nice new books for your old, useless nickels. Take advantage of this offer today, and try some of these:

Appointment on the Hill

Dorothy Detzer's fascinating autobiography of a pacifist's years in Washington lobbying for peace.

60 nickels (\$3.00)

IS GOD EVIDENT?

Gerald Heard's newest book, examining the latest findings of science as a basis for faith.

60 nickels (\$3.00)

The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death

Study of spirituals, by Howard Thurman, at a "deeper level of experience" than as an art form.

20 nickels (\$1.00)

Living Abundantly

A Kirby Page collection of devotional readings from the rich literature of many creative minority groups.

50 nickels (\$2.50)

Races of Mankind

A little classic on the race myth.

4 nickels (20c)

Kasturba, Wife of Gandhi

By Sushila Nayyar. Biography by the Gandhis' adopted daughter, with introduction by Mahatma Gandhi.

10 nickels (50c)

These Rights Are Ours

Summary of report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, on discrimination.

4 nickels (20c)

Brief Biographies

By Leonard S. Kenworthy. Jane Addams, George Fox, Toyohiko Kagawa, Albert Schweitzer, John Woolman, others.

1 nickel apiece (each 5c)

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